

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

INFO HORN OF AFRICA COLLECTIVE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

XMT AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 073290

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PBOR, ET, SO, US

SUBJECT: BRIEFING ON US POLICY IN HORN OF AFRICA

SUMMARY: ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY AFRICAN AFFAIRS  
HARROP BRIEFED REPTS OF UK, FRG, FRANCE AND CANADA MARCH  
17 ON OUR CURRENT VIEWS ON HORN CRISIS. HARROP OUTLINED  
OUR MARCH 8 DEMARCHE TO SIAD AND STEPS BEING TAKEN SINCE  
ITS ACCEPTANCE. HE GAVE DETAILS ON ECONOMIC AND HUMANI-  
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TARIAN ASSISTANCE UNDERWAY OR PROJECTED FOR SOMALIA,  
ETHIOPIA AND DJIBOUTI. IF MOOSE MISSION TO MOGADISCIO  
SUCCEEDS IN OBTAINING SOMALI COMMITMENT TO RESPECT ITS  
BORDERS, WE COULD FIND OURSELVES IN POSITION OF PROVIDING  
CONSIDERABLE DEFENSIVE ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA. FRENCH  
REPRESENTATIVE, CLAUDE HAREL, EXPRESSED VIEW THAT SIAD MAY  
LOSE POWER TO PRO-SOVIET ELEMENTS AS RESULT OF MILITARY  
DEFEAT OR HE MAY TAKE INITIATIVE AND EFFECT RAPPROCHEMENT  
WITH SOVIETS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER SOVIET AND  
CUBAN ACTIONS IN ERITREA. FRENCH ARE TOO TIED UP WITH

DJIBOUTI TO GIVE FURTHER ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA. UK AND FRG PLAN SUBSTANTIAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR SOMALIA. END SUMMARY.

I. IN TWO-DAY MEETING DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS, ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP BRIEFED OTHER FOUR WESTERN MEMBERS OF UNSC (FRG, UK, FRANCE, CANADA) ON EVOLVING US POLICY IN THE HORN MARCH 17. HE NOTED SOMALI WITHDRAWAL IS ABOUT COMPLETE AND ETHIOPIAN/ CUBAN FORCES HAVE TAKEN UP POSITIONS RIGHT ALONG THE BORDER IN MOST PLACES. HARROP BRIEFED REPS ON OUR STRONG DEMARCHE OF MARCH 8 TO PRESIDENT SIAD WHICH STATED THE NECESSITY OF A SOMALI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OGADEN AND ADDED THAT IF THERE WAS NO WITHDRAWAL, WE COULD NOT PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA EVEN IF IT WERE INVADED. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, SOMALIA DID WITHDRAW ITS FORCES, WE WOULD BE WILLING, WE SAID ON MARCH 8, TO BEGIN TO DISCUSS WITH CONGRESS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND DEFENSIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA. WE LATER TOLD SIAD, HARROP CONTINUED, AS PRESIDENT CARTER MADE PUBLIC, THAT HE COULD EXPECT NO MILITARY ASSISTANCE UNTIL HE HAS AGREED TO MAKE A COMMITMENT TO RESPECT THE BORDERS OF NEIGHBORING STATES. CONFIDENTIAL

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2. HARROP INFORMED THE MEETING THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE WAS ON HIS WAY TO MOGADISCIO TO DISCUSS WITH SIAD THE DELICATE PROBLEM OF WORDING SUCH A COMMITMENT TO MEET OUR REQUIREMENTS WITHOUT OUTRAGING SOMALI PRIDE AND IRRIDENTISM. IF WE CAN GET SUCH A COMMITMENT FROM THE SOMALIS, WE WILL BE DISCUSSING THE POSSIBILITY OF GIVING THEM DEFENSIVE MILITARY AID. HOWEVER, COMMITMENT OR NOT, WE PLAN TO GO AHEAD WITH HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AS NEEDED AND WITH ALREADY PLANNED LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

3. TURNING TO HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, HARROP NOTED THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE WAS TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT IN MOGADISCIO TO PROVIDE SOMALIA WITH DOLS 7 MILLION IN FOOD FOR PEACE, TITLE I COMMODITIES. UNDER TITLE II WHICH COVERS EMERGENCY AND DISASTER SITUATIONS, WE HAVE ALREADY APPROVED DOLS 6.3 MILLION OF EMERGENCY FOOD SUPPLIES FOR SOMALIA, MOST OF WHICH HAS BEEN DELIVERED, AND CAN PROVIDE MORE AS NEEDED. WE ARE DELIVERING DOLS 1 MILLION IN TITLE II FOOD TO DJIBOUTI IN FY 78 AND ROUGHLY DOLS 4 MILLION TO ETHIOPIA. MORE TITLE II AID FOR ETHIOPIA MIGHT BE COMING AS WELL. ON THE SUBJECT OF REFUGEES, THE US HAS PROVIDED ICRC WITH DOLS 450,000 TO ASSIST REFUGEES ON BOTH SIDES OF BORDER. WE ARE SEEKING APPROVAL WITHIN THE US GOVERNMENT FOR A

SUPPLEMENTAL REQUEST TO CONGRESS FOR REFUGEES. UP TO

DOLS 5 MILLION OF THIS MIGHT GO TO THE HORN OF AFRICA.

4. ON DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE, HARROP STATED WE ARE PROGRAMMING DOLS 4 MILLION FOR SOMALIA IN FY 78 FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. WE ARE PLANNING DOLS 4 MILLION MORE FOR FY 79 INCLUDING DOLS 3 MILLION FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND DOLS 1 MILLION FOR HEALTH CARE. OUR FY 78 PROGRAM FOR ETHIOPIA IS NEARLY DOLS 15 MILLION. WE ARE NOW AWAITING DIRG APPROVAL FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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FIRST IMPORTANT PROJECT IN OUR FY 78 PROGRAM AND WE ARE QUITE CONCERNED WITH THE POSSIBLE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE DELAY IN APPROVING THE PROJECT. WE HAVE PROPOSED TO THE CONGRESS A PROGRAM OF DOLS 12.9 MILLION FOR FY 79.

5. HARROP TOLD MEETING THAT ABOVE PROGRAMS WERE NOT NEW AID PROGRAMS GENERATED IN WAKE OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS BUT ONGOING PROGRAMS. IF WE BELIEVE SOMALIA IS PREPARED TO BEHAVE RESPONSIBLY, WE WILL CONSIDER MORE IN THE WAY OF ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE. IN ANY CASE, IF THE EXTENT OF THE EMERGENCY THERE WARRANTS IT, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER PROVIDING UP TO DOLS 500,000 IN THE NEXT 2-3 MONTHS IN THE FORM OF TENTS, BLANKETS, MEDICINES AND EQUIPMENT. WE HAVE ALREADY CONTRIBUTED DOLS 2 MILLION (LAST NOVEMBER) IN RESPONSE TO A UNDP APPEAL TO PURCHASE A FLEET OF TRUCKS FOR RELIEF WORK IN ETHIOPIA. UNHCR SOURCES WERE TOLD IN FEBRUARY THAT THERE WERE 300,000 REFUGEES IN SOMALIA, 32,000 OF WHOM WERE IN CAMPS. PRESIDENT SIAD RECENTLY SPOKE TO US OF 80,000 REFUGEES AND SEVERAL PRESS REPORTS PUT THE FIGURE AT 100,000. MR. HARROP ASKED IF ANYONE ELSE HAD ANY INFORMATION. THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE, QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS CLAUDE HAREL SAID THERE ARE 12-15,000 REFUGEES IN DJIBOUTI. HARROP RESPONDED THAT UNHCR IS ANTICIPATING AS MANY AS 30,000 IN THAT COUNTRY.

6. HARROP WENT ON TO SAY THAT USG IS CONSIDERING GIVING SOME DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA TO AID IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OGADEN. WHEN DISCUSSING THE OGADEN IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, ETHIOPIAN OFFICIALS TOLD US THEY WERE PLANNING A LARGE RECOVERY EFFORT IN THE OGADEN AND THAT THEY WOULD BE ASKING FOR FOREIGN CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSISTANCE. AS PART OF THEIR REQUEST, THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO ALLOW FOREIGN SPECIALISTS INTO THE AREA TO SEE WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE. WE HOPE TO GIVE THIS PARTICULAR DEVELOPMENTAL AID THROUGH MULTILATERAL CHANNELS AS WE DO HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

7. IN HIS CONCLUDING REMARKS, HARROP SAID US COULD FIND

ITSELF IN THE POSITION OF RENDERING CONSIDERABLE DEFENSIVE ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA IF ALL GOES WELL WITH MOOSE MISSION TO MOGADISCIO. IF WE DECIDE TO GO AHEAD WITH DEFENSIVE ASSISTANCE, WE WILL PROBABLY START WITH NON-LETHAL ITEMS. WE HOPE OUR ALLIES, IF THEY AID SOMALIA MILITARILY, WILL ALSO MAKE SURE THEIR ASSISTANCE IS CLEARLY DEFENSIVE IN NATURE AND NOT IN SUCH AMOUNTS THAT IT WOULD ALARM THE KENYANS OR ETHIOPIANS.

8. UK REP PHILLIP MANSFIELD INQUIRED ABOUT CURRENT NIGERIAN VIEW OF THE MEDIATION ATTEMPTS. HARROP REPLIED THAT NIGERIANS AS WELL AS ALL OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE STRONGLY RESISTING TAKING OGADEN CRISIS TO UN. THEY FEEL THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM SHOULD REMAIN WITHIN THE OAU CONTEXT. NIGERIA HAD SCHEDULED MEDIATION COMMITTEE MEETING FOR MARCH 16 BUT IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE MEETING HAS BEEN RESCHEDULED FOR THE SECOND WEEK IN APRIL WHEN THE ETHIOPIANS AND SOMALIS ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND. THE AFRICANS ARE CONTINUING TO URGE US TO BE PATIENT AND AWAIT RESULTS OF THE MEETING.

9. THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE THEN SPOKE AT LENGTH ON HIS VIEWS. HE FELT SIAD BARRE HAD LOST STATUS AS A RESULT OF THE MILITARY DEFEAT AND MAY HAVE TO RESIGN. HE NOTED THAT AFTER 18 YEARS OF CLOSE MOSCOW-MOGADISCIO RELATIONS, IT WAS ONLY NATURAL THAT MANY PRO-SOVIET ELEMENTS REMAINED IN MOGADISCIO. IT COULD BE THAT THESE ELEMENTS MIGHT DEPOSE SIAD WHETHER OR NOT ETHIOPIAN/CUBAN FORCES INVADE SOMALIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, HAREL THOUGHT SIAD MIGHT CONFIDENTIAL

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TAKE THE INITIATIVE HIMSELF AND EFFECT A RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE USSR. HE ASKED OUR VIEWS. HARROP STATED THAT SIAD IS AN ASTUTE, WILY, AND COMPETENT LEADER, WITH LITTLE CHALLENGE TO HIS LEADERSHIP AT THIS TIME. WE AGREE THAT THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS MIGHT TRY TO UNDERMINE SIAD BUT WE BELIEVE HE CAN RESIST SUCH AN EFFORT. WE AGREE WITH THE FRENCH THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT SIAD MIGHT TURN TO THE SOVIETS EVEN THOUGH THE EVENTS OF THE LAST SIX MONTHS MILITATE AGAINST IT. THIS COULD HAPPEN IF HE IS NOT GIVEN SUFFICIENT MILITARY AID FROM THE WEST. MANSFIELD OF THE UK AGREED WITH HARROP AND NOTED SOMALIS SEEM TO BLAME SOVIETS AND CUBANS MORE THAN SIAD FOR THEIR DEFEAT.

10. HAREL ARGUED THAT THE WESTERN POWERS STILL MUST ACT TO OBTAIN SOME FORM OF RECOGNITION OF AUTONOMY FOR THE OGADEN SOMALIS. THE FRENCH ARE WORKING WITH THE FRENCH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES IN AFRICA TO SUPPORT THIS PRINCIPLE

AND TO PUSH FOR SOME FORM OF NEUTRAL OBSERVERS IN THE OGADEN BUT WERE NOT OPTIMISTIC. IN HIS REPLY, HARROP NOTED THAT EPMG HAS FLATLY REFUSED OUR ARGUMENTS FOR PLACING OBSERVERS IN THE OGADEN. IT IS PARTICULARLY UNLIKELY THAT OBSERVERS WILL BE SENT IN NOW AS WE HAVE HAD NO INDICATIONS OF MISTREATMENT OF THE OGADEN POPULACE. WE AGREED WITH HAREL'S IDEA THAT THE BEST WAY TO FULFILL THE FUNCTION OF OBSERVATION WAS TO HAVE A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE FROM INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS GO IN TO THE OGADEN. IN REGARD TO AUTONOMY FOR THE REGION, HARROP SAID WE RAISED THAT QUESTION OFTEN WITH ETHIOPIA WHEN WE WERE TRYING TO FIND THE BASIS FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE WAR. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT SOME SORT OF AUTONOMOUS STATUS FOR THE OGADEN WITHIN AN ETHIO-  
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PIAN SOVEREIGNTY WOULD BE WORTHWHILE. THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTIONARY CHARTER MAKES SOME PROVISIONS FOR AUTONOMY FOR THE VARIOUS NATIONALITIES. WE WERE PLEASED WHEN BERHANE BAYEH, AN IMPORTANT DIRG MEMBER, MENTIONED THIS IN A RECENT NEWS CONFERENCE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ETHIOPIANS WILL GRANT SUCH AUTONOMY UNDER PRESSURE, HOWEVER, NOR UNTIL THEY HAVE RESOLVED THE ERITREAN QUESTION. NONETHELESS, IT IS USEFUL TO ENCOURAGE SUCH A SOLUTION IN ADDIS WITH WHATEVER INFLUENCE ONE HAS.

11. THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET AND CUBAN INTENTIONS IN ERITREA. HARROP STATED IT WAS DIFFICULT TO KNOW EXACTLY WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THAT RESPECT. THE CUBANS HAVE GIVEN INDICATIONS THROUGH THEIR EMBASSIES ABROAD AND EVEN IN HAVANA THAT THEY DO NOT PARTICULARLY WANT TO INTERVENE IN ERITREA. WE DO KNOW THAT THERE ARE SOME CUBAN ADVISERS IN ERITREA BUT ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO CONFIRM THAT CUBAN TROOPS ARE THERE. CERTAINLY, HARROP CONCLUDED, THE CUBANS HAVE A LARGE INVESTMENT IN ETHIOPIA AND IF THEY ARE PRESSED BY THE ETHIOPIANS TO INTERVENE IN ERITREA THEY WILL FIND IT QUITE DIFFICULT TO TURN THEM DOWN.

12. TURNING TO FRENCH POLICY IN THE HORN, HAREL SAID HE COULD ONLY SPEAK PERSONALLY. HE WAS SURE THAT FRANCE WOULD TIE THE ROLE OF ANY FRENCH MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO A TRUE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OGADEN. HE AGREED THAT THESE CONDITIONS NOW SEEM TO HAVE BEEN MET. HAREL EXPECTS LITTLE NEW FRENCH ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR SOMALIA AS FRENCH WERE TIED UP IN DJIBOUTI, AN INHERENTLY FRAGILE STATE WHICH FRANCE KEPT ALIVE BUT AT ARM'S LENGTH. (AT LUNCHEON ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONFERENCE, AMBASSADOR DE LABOULAYE TOLD HARROP HE EXPECTS FRENCH FORCES TO LEAVE DJIBOUTI SOON NO MATTER WHO WINS THE ELECTION. FRANCE

WOULD HOPE TO SEE ITS FORCES REPLACED BY AN INTERNATIONAL

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FORCE.)

13. THE GERMAN REPRESENTATIVE PABSCH, SAID THAT FRG HAS DECIDED TO FURNISH SOMALIA 5 MILLION MARKS IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. HE ALSO EXPECTED 100 TRUCKS WILL SOON BE ON THE WAY TO SOMALIA. FRG IS PLEDGING 70 MILLION MARKS IN TWO INCREMENTS TO AID SOMALI FISHING FLEET. HE BELIEVED BONN WOULD RESPOND FAVORABLY TO ANY INTERNATIONAL REQUEST FOR AID TO SOMALIA. FRG PLANNED NO MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO SOMALIA.

14. MANSFIELD SAID BRITAIN INTENDED TO ACT QUICKLY IN HUMANITARIAN FIELD TO AID SOMALIA. TENTS AND BLANKETS WERE ALREADY ON THE WAY. BRITISH POLICY WOULD BE GOVERNED BY NEED TO REASSURE KENYA THAT SOMALIA COULD NOT POSE A THREAT TO HER. MANSFIELD NOTED ETHIOPIANS HAVE SAID THEY WOULD WELCOME AID BUT THE BRITISH HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED ANY REQUEST. HE NOTED UK WOULD HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS IN GIVING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA, AS DOES U.S.

15. FOR ROME: YOU MAY DRAW ON ABOVE TO BRIEF GOI ON OUR CURRENT THINKING RE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE HORN. YOU SHOULD URGE THEM TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE TO ANY REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE FROM SOMALIA.

16. FOR BONN: ALTHOUGH FRG REPRESENTED AT MEETING, YOU MAY WISH DRAW ON ABOVE TO BRIEF MUELLER IN RESPONSE BONN 04599. YOU MAY INFORM HIM THAT USG CONSIDERS SOMALIA HAS NOW WITHDRAWN TO EXTENT NECESSARY (VIRTUALLY 100 PERCENT) TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE OF AGGRESSION AS A POSSIBLE BAR TO REGULAR US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. DEFENSIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL DEPEND, OF COURSE, ON SIAD'S WILLINGNESS TO MAKE COMMITMENT NOT TO CHANGE BORDERS BY FORCE WHICH ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE IS DISCUSSING WITH  
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SIAD AT THE MOMENT. WE WILL BRIEF ALLIES ON RESULTS OF MOOSE MISSION AS SOON AS THEY ARE AVAILABLE TO US. VANCE

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